1:Barnes K-5 (1946-1949)1954 FRS Ngoni FRS
Mpezeni

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(405)

PLATE I. Paramount Chief Paulino Mpezeni Jere III, K.M., standing with a man from the chief's capital. The man points upwards and sings that, because they conquered the Ngoni, the Whites must have come from heaven.

[Frontpiece Facing p. i]

1:Barnes 1-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FRS Ngoni FRS
Mpezeni

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PLATE VI. The clerk of a county Native Court checks the whereabouts of ... men on the tax register of a village with an important man in the village. Standing are a Native Authority messenger with fez, and an Administrative messenger. The village headman and some of his people in the background.

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PLATE VII. Litigants outside a county Native Court wait for hearings to begin.

[Facing p. 152]

cloves stuck at the top of the *isiklolo*, and round it they put narrow bands of beads (*intsepeya* and *isincanye*) arranged in layers. Royal women were leopard and lion claws among the beads. Round the neck and on the arms they wore coils of brass wire (*amacanga*) which they got from the Arabs, or *inipete*, strings of beads wound round a piece of cloth. The kilt of soft dressed leather (*isidwadla*) reached from the waist to the knee, and wrapped well over. A long piece of soft leather (*inqanyi*) was fastened on the left shoulder and reached a little below the knees. On the edges of the *inqanyi* were fastened small bells made of brass (*ngomani*). Ngoni women did not like to cut their bodies with tattoo marks. They said it was ugly. The *indumakazi* might decorate other wives at the *ngoma* dance because she had a large store of beads and wire and leather cloths.

The common features of the life of leading women as illustrated in these texts were: the number of attendants and servants in their households and their consequent freedom from manual work; the etiquette surrounding life in the *indlunkulu* and the big house, and the formality of hospitality, beer-drinks and dances; relationships with their *indunas*, and with their husbands, and, as illustrated by Margaret Jere, with the paternal grandmother who supervised their upbringing when they were young.

In addition to the *indunas* in charge of the big house, the royal women and leading women in the villages of chiefs and *ishemazana* were surrounded by a number of young girls and serving women. These were known in pre-European days as domestic slaves or servants (*mizitho*), girl companions (*izidwadwa*), nurse girls (*ukwai*) and older women attendants (*apugo*). Informants said that in pre-European days there were fifteen or twenty girls in each royal household and the number was constantly being added to when female slaves were captured in war and allocated as servants to the Paramount's wives. All the texts in this chapter refer to the fact that the royal women and the leading women did no work, and there was always a nostalgic refrain from senior women informants about the time devoted to hair-dressing and beauty treatments, to 'just sitting', and to dancing and drinking beer, while all the household tasks and the care of the children fell to the servants. The Ngoni royal women, even in the 1930's, commanded the labour of six to ten women and girls in each household. The hard physical work of fetching firewood and water, pounding grain, preparing vegetables and often cooking too, was done largely by servants in the Paramount's and chief's villages where I stayed. There were young nurse girls and older women to help with the children and with the adolescent girls. There were no longer any domestic slaves, and the domestic helpers, who were often distant relatives of the wives, appeared to enjoy the prestige of being attached to an important house.

The royal women in pre-European days were distinguished by the clothes and ornaments they wore which were reserved for the royal

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1960
FRS Ngoni FRS

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1. Chief dressed for war-dance

[facing page 16]
[page 16 is blank]

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939)1960
FRS Ngoni FRS

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[411]

2. Chief dressed for war-dance with wives

3. Chief and his elders in kraal

[facing page 17]

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939)1960
FRS Ngoni FRS

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342.

[facing p. 33]

3: Read E-S (1935-1939) 1960
FRS Ngoni FRS

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8. A well-filled grain store

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[facing page 48]

9. Winnowing

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939)1960
FRS Ngoni FRS

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10. Young musicians

[facing page 49]

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1960
FRS Ngoni FRS

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11. Young musicians

[342]

[facing page 64]

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939)1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

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12. Chiefs' wives wearing leopard claws

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13. Chiefs' wives leading in the dance

[facing page 65]

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

after the age of four or five, when they might become aware that intercourse was taking place. From this age, when the Ngoni said 'they will now begin to see things and to ask questions', they went to sleep either with a widowed grandmother or senior helper.

During the 'dark half of the month' and in the rains, most people went to bed soon after dark and little children got a long sleep. When the moon was bright, and in dry weather, the whole village was astir, walking around, dancing, talking, visiting. Little children tagged round with their older sisters or nurse girls, and if they were sleepy were either picked up and carried, or put in the hut to sleep on their mat, provided there was no fire burning into which they could fall. During the day, especially in the hot weather, children dropped off to sleep just where they were, on the veranda, under the platform, or in some other shady spot.

It was just before bedtime, in the grandmother's hut, that traditional folk-tales were told, round the last flickers of a wood fire. Sometimes a child dropped off to sleep before the story was finished. Someone either took him on her lap, or dumped him on his mat and covered him up.

This acquiring of habits, directed consciously by adults, was designed to give the child increasingly a sense of being part of a community which had certain standards of behaviour. There were, in this training, some prohibitions which a child was expected to observe as soon as he could walk and talk. The most stringent was on any form of sex play between boys and girls. To avoid any likelihood of this, little boys and girls were early encouraged to form separate play groups. The elders kept an eye particularly on the boys, and if they showed any inquisitiveness in their play about the private parts of a girl playmate, they were beaten and reproved and told: 'If you do this again, I shall tell your father.'

Many little boys and girls up to the age of four or five ran about naked, but in leading Ngoni families they wore a scrap

of cloth hanging in front from a bead or grass waistband. They were all taught before that age, and most stringently after it, to sit correctly. For the little girls, this meant kneeling first and then sitting with the legs tucked on one side. They always smoothed down their scrap of cloth so that their genitals were covered. Little boys often squatted, sitting on their heels. Their correct position however, especially when eating food, was to sit with their legs crossed and the soles of their feet pressed against their thighs, and their cloth or skin apron arranged to cover their genitals.

Any rudeness in speech or action towards parents or elders was corrected at once, and the child was told: 'That is not the Ngoni way.' Studied courtesy included looking down when addressed by an elder, and as we saw in Chapter II, never walking behind a group of elders but passing in front of them, bending slightly forward and murmuring: 'I am before your eyes.'

Play places and playthings

In spite of what appeared like a somewhat restrictive régime, Ngoni children were merry and busy all their waking hours. Occasionally lack of health, or an awkward temperament, produced a child who sat around by himself, or glowered at other children, or was spiteful and vindictive. For the most part their nurse girls and older sisters paid them the attention they demanded, were always ready to provide distractions and amusements, and showed them how to use all that lay around them as playthings.

The places where they played depended on their age and mobility. The youngest children stayed round the hut and inside the fence. Occasionally the nurse girls and older sisters in the afternoons took them to a 'playground' on the outskirts of the village, where the older girls were accustomed to meet and practise dancing, or to thread beads and chatter. When the harvest was in, some of the older children about five and six years old, helped by the nurse girls, made 'play

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

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14. Mother and babies

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[facing page 96]

15. Nursemaids with their charges

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939)1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

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16. Traditional hair style

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17. Girls sitting correctly [facing page 97]

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

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18. Chiefs' wives

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[facing page 112]

19. Girls dancing *Ngoma*

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939)1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

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20. Making lorries

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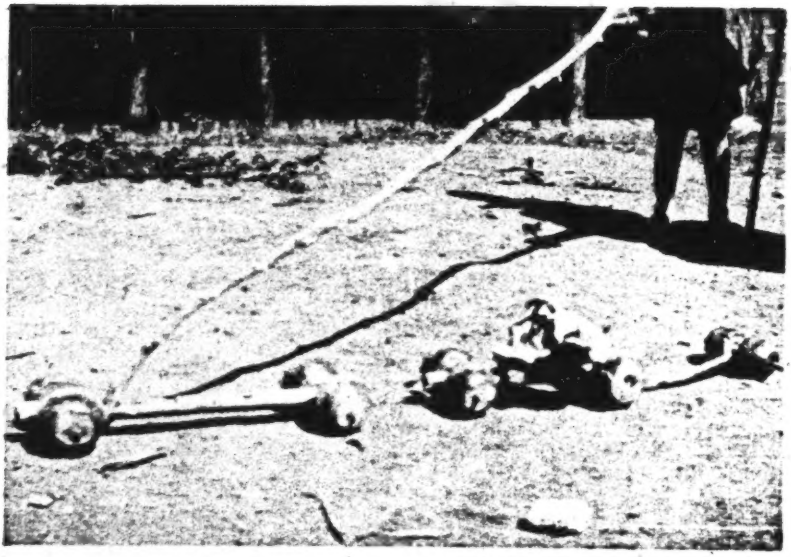

21. Will the wheels work?

[facing page 113]

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

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22, 23. Herd boys

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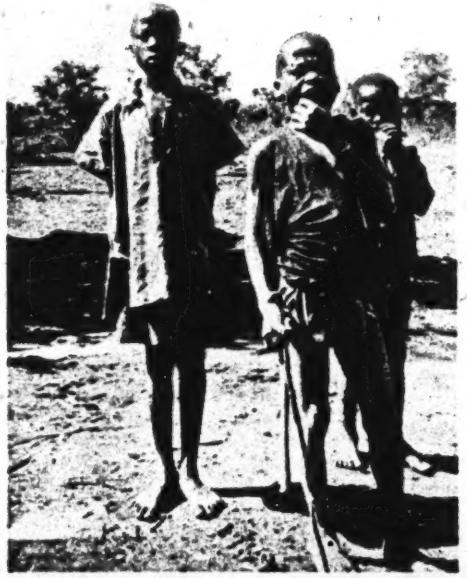

[Facing page 128]

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939)1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

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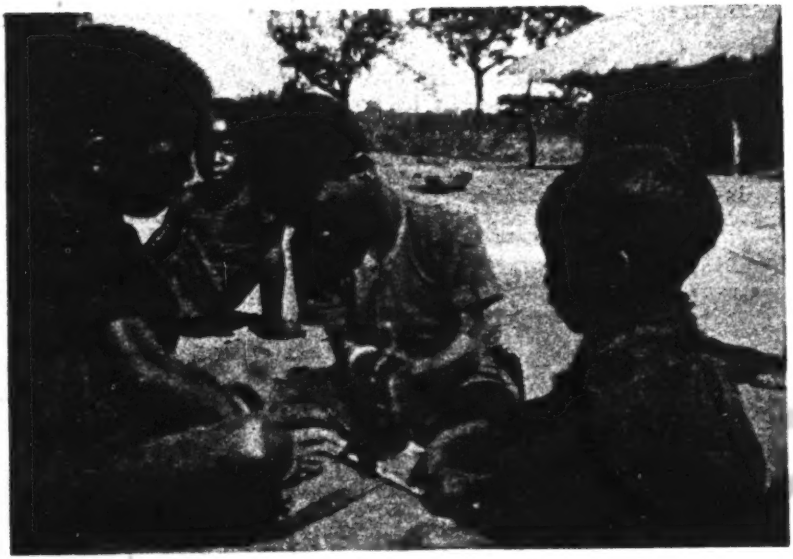

24. Learning to make fire

25. Explaining how to do it

[facing page 129]

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

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26. Making clay figures

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[facing page 144]

27. Ear piercing

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939)1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

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28. Learning to carry wood

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29. Learning to pound

[facing page 145]

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939)1960
FR5 Ngoni FR5

827 577 gardens was not required of most Ngoni women, though they were expected to know by experience how to hoe and to pound, to mud walls and to clean a house in order to supervise their helpers and to see that household work was done efficiently.

577 581 [826] In addition to being healthy, the ideal Ngoni woman was always well-groomed. She might lack the facial formation of high cheek-bones, narrow nose and deep-set eyes and the light bronze colouring which were the accepted standards of beauty. Even without these natural, usually inherited, advantages she spent, as we have seen, much time every day [302] taking care of her skin and hair. When she was receiving visitors or sitting outside her hut, her two long cloths, one [291] fastened under the armpits and the other over one shoulder and knotted on the chest, were carefully draped and arranged. If she walked to another compound or out of the village on the road, or walked or danced in any ceremony, [516] her dignity of bearing and poise of head was always marked. She did not hurry, but, as the Ngoni said, 'she walked strongly'. A government official passing an octogenarian [481] Ngoni princess on the road stopped and offered her a lift in his car. She looked him up and down and said: 'Thank you, young man. I can still walk.'

577 602 Many references have been made already to the relationship between a wife and her husband, and between a wife, especially a young one, and her husband's relatives. The keynotes of this relationship were devotion to her husband, respect for his relatives, and circumspection in her relations with her co-wives and with her non-Ngoni helpers. Jealousy between co-wives was recognized by the Ngoni but not condoned, and the young wife at marriage was warned by her own family against quarrelling with anyone, co-wives, helpers or in-laws, though the last was almost unthinkable.

577 592 Competence in household management, being a successful 'châtelaine', made many demands on a Ngoni woman if she were to live up to what was considered an ideal house

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

band one or more of his lieutenants and other dependent families. Thus the band of wives formed the core round which the sub-segments of the husband's residential segment were built up. Each band was associated with a distinct cluster of huts, although not every cluster of huts had a band of wives living in it. The division of wives into bands was only one of the processes by which the segmentation of clusters was carried on.

Each linked co-wife lived in the band of her barren senior although occasionally a linked co-wife was promoted and made head of her own band. The children of a linked co-wife were spoken of as being born in the house of her senior, but here the word 'house' (*ng'anda*) was used only in a figurative sense.[21] Where it was necessary to contrast the children of the wives of one band with the children of another, they were called the children of the head of the band. Less frequently all a man's children by his several wives were referred to as the children of the house of his great wife.

It seems that more trouble was taken to obtain a linked co-wife for a barren great wife or head of a band than for a junior wife. A great wife needed children to ratify her position in the hierarchy of co-wives, and to establish a line of descendents senior to the lines springing from her subordinates. Barrenness was the principal reason for seeking a linked co-wife but it is said that if a man had pleased his wife's father, a linked co-wife might be given spontaneously by his father-in-law as a mark of his esteem. When a wife grew old and needed domestic help a linked co-wife was sometimes given to her although she might have borne many children. A man was under an obligation to offer one beast[22] to his wife's father when he received a linked co-wife.

The children of a linked co-wife ranked immediately after the children by her senior, if there were any. They inherited the property allocated to her hut and belonged to the segment founded by her.

7. The levirate

The custom of linking co-wives was sometimes a kind of sororal polygyny and sometimes a variety of sororate. We may see it as a device for establishing and maintaining the residential segment potentially founded by the senior co-wife when she married her husband. Similarly we may look on the levirate as a way of ensuring that the fertility of the woman still remained attached to that same segment even after the death of her husband. A widow lived in leviratic marriage with her husband's younger brother who became

[21] Compare the similar use of the word 'house' among the Zulu and 'room' among the Tallensi. Cf. Hoernlé, 'Social organization' in *The Bantu-speaking Tribes of South Africa*, p. 78, and Fortes, *The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi*, pp. 198 sqq.

[22] Called variously *mceka* or *mtoso*. *Mceka* is an Nsenga word meaning a small cloth worn round the waist by women. The allusion is to the labour pains felt by the mother of the new bride which were eased by binding her waist with a cloth. *Mtoso* has the same meaning in the old Ngoni language.

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

brew beer when her husband asks her. In addition to this minimal amount of required co-operation, in many instances husband and wife have a great deal in common. They may go to church or visit a relative, or even go together to a beer party.

The obligation on a man to clothe his wife is the most clear-cut and obvious duty in marriage. It is the failure to clothe that is usually cited as evidence of desertion when a woman seeks a divorce. There is no specific standard to which he must clothe her, but she usually insists that she is not to be more poorly clad than are her neighbours. Clothes consisted in the old days of skins and barkcloth, but cloth was introduced by Arabs before the Europeans arrived, and was used as a form of currency by the early European settlers. A few people still wear skins, but only on top of Western clothing. There is no indigenous weaving, and all clothes have therefore to be bought in the shops.

The man takes the initiative in finding a hut in which he and his wife live, and it is he who undertakes the major work of repair. Houses, if made of bamboo, last for about twenty years, but require rethatching, while pole and mud huts last about eight years only. When a couple begin to live together they usually borrow an empty hut in the village, asking the man or woman who is looking after the hut if they can move in. No charge can be made for the loan of a hut. If the marriage begins uxorilocally, and the woman has previously been living in a dormitory, she may ask the other girls in the dormitory to go and sleep elsewhere until her husband can build her a hut of her own. The man does the work of marking out the site, digging the foundations, cutting the trees for the framework, and so on. All these are men's jobs, and he may be assisted in the work by his male neighbours and relatives. His wife gathers thatching grass, but the men do the actual thatching. The finishing of the house is entirely the wife's work, and she usually gets her friends and relatives to help her plaster the walls and floor. The maintenance of the plaster remains her responsibility and she ought to renew the floor every month after she has menstruated.

Every wife ought to have her own garden, and, sooner or later, her own storehouse. Most young people acquire gardens of their own long before they marry, but continue to pool the produce of the garden with the adult responsible for feeding them. This arrangement continues after marriage, and the incoming spouse at first merely assists in the garden of the other and is fed from the common storehouse of his or her parents or relatives. If a woman has been living with her grandmother and her husband comes to live with her, the couple draw on the wife's grandmother's storehouse for their food, and place the produce of the wife's garden in it. Similarly, in virilocal marriage, a woman may at first help in her husband's garden and draw from his mother's storehouse. But after a year or two, if a man is not to be despised as a sluggard, he must build a storehouse in the village where they have settled, and see that there is

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

000 money to buy herself clothes, if her husband has no money to give her.

681 593 In court, when a woman has to pay damages or a fine, she may be able to provide the money from her own resources. If not, she can turn to her husband or to her own kinsfolk. Provided damages for adultery are not involved, her husband, if he is not away working, ought to provide the money and a deliberate refusal to do so would precipitate a major quarrel and the possibility of divorce. If a woman gets into a fight at a party, and has to pay, say, half-a-crown to someone she has hurt, her husband ought to find the money for her. If he refuses to do so though she has no money of her own, the court will say that he no longer loves his wife, and is trying to find an opportunity to divorce her. Indeed, there would be little point in the husband refusing to pay, as those who cannot pay their fines are committed to prison, and he would then lose the services of his wife.

593 421 A woman can hold property in her own right and a husband honours a well-loved wife by giving her cattle. Gifts that she gets from her own kinsfolk do not pass to her husband, and such things as blankets and mats that she has used, even if her husband bought them, are regarded as her own property. Even the money that her husband gives her to make specific purchases is her own to do as she pleases with, so that a woman may forgo the skirt for which her husband has given her money and instead give it to her sister to buy something else. Husbands do not always like such actions, but they cannot do anything directly to prevent them. One of the ways in which a wife acquires livestock of her own is by buying animals with the money she gets from her husband for clothes. The produce of a wife's wet-season garden, maize, sorghum, millet, root crops, pulses, [241] cucurbits, is in effect held in common by husband and wife, and neither ought to sell any of it without first consulting the other. [586] On divorce the crops are divided between them unless the court decides that one party did not work in the garden, or has deserted the other. The money a woman earns by brewing beer for sale she [465] usually keeps, although some men say that a woman should hand the money over to her husband, lest he find her with it and suspect that she has earned it by prostitution. In practice, most women seem to keep their own earnings and it is not uncommon, where the husband is a drunkard and weak-willed, for his wife to have custody of his money as well. Indeed the simultaneous operation within the husband-wife relationship of structural separation and social co-operation is well demonstrated by the apparently paradoxical situation, of which I saw two instances, in which a man ordered to pay damages to his wife for fighting her had to ask her to hand him over the money so that he could duly hand it back to her.

6. Mystical links

593 Symbolic expression of the relationship between man and wife is not greatly developed among the Ngoni, and the mystical bonds

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

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I. Preparing meat for a gall-bladder ceremony. The leader of the bride's party sits on the left with her helper while the meat is cut up by the master of ceremonies.

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II. Bride kneeling on mat outside her husband's mother's hut. Standing behind her are the three women of her party.

[Facing P. 126]

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

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III. Anointing the bride's feet with gall. The master of ceremonies rubs gall over the bride, who sits on a mat between a woman of her party and the guide.

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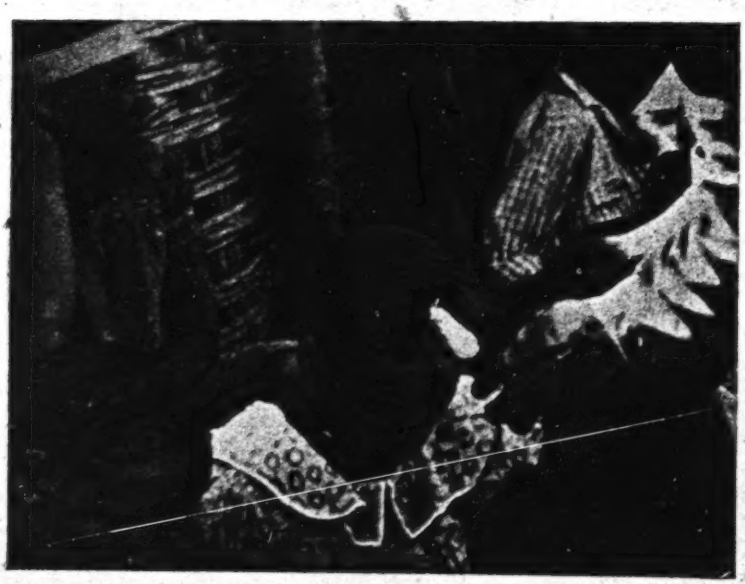

IV. The gall-bladder is safely pinned in the bride's hair. Thus decorated, she will return to her own village.

[Facing P. 129]

10: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1959
FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

PLATE XIV

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3. Boys crushing ground-nuts. The expressed oil will be used in a bird trap

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4. Boy playing with a toy motor-car made from maize stalks

NGONI

[Facing P.209]

10: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1959
FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

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5. Girls dancing *Citelele* in competition with another village. The girl in the centre has a whistle in her mouth

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[535
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6. Young man drumming for a *Jimi Roja* dance at an installation ceremony. This dance, named after an American band leader, is allowed only on important occasions

NGONI

[Facing P. 224]

/9 cont'd/

294 the hunt walks in the middle of the line, with a responsible person posted on each flank. A started animal, if not shot by the guns, usually turns to run parallel to the line of hunters, who hurl spears and knobkerries at it, and send their dogs after it. The chances of escape for a hunted animal are fairly high. Animals are also trapped, usually with a piece of meat tied to the muzzle of a gun. Hunting with nets is sometimes undertaken in the wet season. Rats are caught in small conical traps baited with beans. The rat chews through a piece of string and releases a green stick, thereby strangling itself.

[714] Shields, once the pride of the Ngoni armies, are not carried on hunts and are infrequently seen.

VI

291 [177] It is only the old men who still wear skin garments, and then only as additions to European style clothing. Men are dressed in khaki shorts and shirts, long trousers, cast-off European clothing, or clothes brought back from the army. Often two shirts are worn on top of one another. Women wear a blouse, a skirt tied on a tape, a cloth wrapped round on top of the skirt, and a small cloth tied [854] round their waist. If carrying a baby, the cloth supporting the child is slung over the left and under the right shoulder, and another cloth may be wrapped round the woman and child under her armpits. Dresses are also worn, and sometimes a singlet under the blouse. Shoes are less common for women than for men. Men /10/ wear a [177] variety of European style hats, but women wear only embroidered cloths or berets, or in the case of poorer women, plain bands of cloth.

Children go naked, or may be draped in whatever garment, of whatever size, happens to be available. If the money is there to pay for them, boys are dressed in shorts and shirts, and girls in little dresses.

304 [178] In the old days, every adult had slit ears, but this custom has died out. Women nowadays pierce their ears if they wish, and it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between a small slit made as a

4: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1909)1910 FT7 Yao FT7
Maravi FR4
Ngoni FR5
Bemba FQ5

M 301 Necklaces, most commonly for children, are made of a number of little square pieces of hippo ivory strung together, ornamented with geometrical designs.

M 789 Medicine is often carried in a little packet suspended round the neck, as also charms of various kinds. The medicine may be some powdered charred roots or little twigs, leaves, etc., of some tree; these are sometimes now wrapped up in a piece of paper on which is written some extract from the Koran (among Y [789] Mohammedan Yao); this is then sewn in a little piece of calico and adorned with beads and suspended round the neck with a string.

Charms take various forms. Small pieces of wood or, to guard against attack by lion, teeth are worn. Armlets of the same kind are worn against sickness, and M 301 others are worn by Angoni, made of beads to which knives are attached. Bracelets of ivory, plaited grass and elephant tail hairs are also worn.

N 301 Metal and wirework bracelets are commonly worn by Angoni, also twisted wire finger rings and rings of lead and ivory. Heavy brass ankle rings and spiral brass leg and arm rings 6 inches and 8 inches wide are worn by some of the women (Atonga).

B 301 Bracelets cut from the nail of the elephant's foot are worn by Awemba hunters, and little finger rings cut from the scale of the ant-eater are worn as medicine against fever by headmen.

Belts made of wound copper wire are worn round the waists by Wankonde.

M 302 The use of pigments applied to the body is very limited. I have seen stripes of these, white and red, on the faces of young women, boys and dancers, generally after some ceremony. The significance I do not know. Pigments are now obtained M [439] from Indian traders, and I do not know how old the custom is. There is no beautification of face, body, nails, and eyes by pigments. The only application made to the skin is castor and ground-nut oils to keep it soft—no scents are used.

CLOTHING.

M Among tribes of Nyasaland the amount of clothing worn varies very considerably from nothing to European garments.

Y N ● 291 ● [855] Of the large majority, however, including Maflanja people, Yao and Angoni, one may speak generally.

The young children commonly run about naked, or have a strip of cloth covering the pudenda, supported by a string round the waist.

M Among the adult population the amount of clothing depends largely on the affluence of the individual, and those who cannot afford much have little clothing. Y N [556] A man wears a strip of calico supported in front and behind by a string round the waist, a woman a piece of calico 18 inches wide reaching from the middle of the thighs to the umbilicus.

Of the more prosperous, the men wear calico from a little below the knee to the waist, carefully wrapped round the body, and kept in position by some kind of belt; sometimes it is folded across the upper part of the chest or sometimes crossed over in front and two ends tied behind the neck.

4: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1909) 1910 FT7 Yao FT7
Ngoni FR5
Maravi FR4

Women wear their cloth folded across the upper level of the breasts from right to left. Men and women often have two cloths, one over the loins, only the second fastening over the chest.

A menstruating woman also wears a small piece of calico corresponding to a diaper supported by string round the waist.[1] The same thing is worn after childbirth for six months. Angoni women always wear them.

The Angoni, Chipeta wear their cloth toga-fashion, carrying a fold of cloth on the left arm. An Angoni chief wears three such, blue, white and coloured, the first outside, the last next to the skin.

The material used is now practically everywhere European-made calico, formerly bark cloth only was used by Nyanja, though weaving had been accomplished by Angoni, where skins were and are used as articles of clothing.

There is nothing to distinguish men of various grades, etc. Fashion at the present time is very capricious—some patterned cloth being much worn one month will have no sale a month later; this is true both of men and of women.

There is no class uniform, and no "costumes" are worn save in dancing (*q.v.*).

Men are now seen wearing a piece of calico twisted up on the head in turban form, a custom lately introduced from the coast—the only indigenous head-gear is the string skull-cap worn by Angoni widows.

Under the heading of dress must be included the bead aprons worn by Yao and Angoni. Among the former the use of this garment is restricted to the women, who in the house sometimes wear nothing else; among the Angoni the children often have them and no other clothing.

Sandals are sometimes made of skin and fastened on the feet with a thong when crossing thorny country.

Among Angoni the *mtondo* only used to be worn; this is a small hard-cased fruit which was hollowed out and worn just covering the glans penis.

Food, etc.

The staple food throughout the country is either maize or rice, the latter only at various spots on the lake shore where it can be grown. Two fixed meals per diem are taken, at 9 or 10 a.m. and again at 6 p.m.; each consists of *nsima* porridge made from maize flour or rice flour or boiled rice with some *ndiwo* (relish) to which the salt is added. At odd times the native will eat anything that opportunity offers—a piece of cassava root, a boiled sweet potato, a roasted maize cob, etc.

The *nsima* is made by stirring flour (*ufa*) into boiling water till a stiff paste is formed; this is kept cooking for five minutes and then scraped out with a wooden

[1] Diaper = *mtheto*: a woman keeps five or six; they are never put away in baskets but always hung up; a woman changes every time she bathes, using two or three per diem; they may be given to a female child to wear, but are then not worn again by a woman.